Surára
Pakidái

/116 cont./

123 touched me all over my body, and they examined my spectacles with particular interest (557) and were very astonished at my

557. The Surára chief was so enthusiastic about my spectacles that he asked me to be sure to bring him a pair on my next visit.

blond hair and blue eyes. When I shaved, I was likewise surrounded by a circle of spectators (558). Even when I had to re-

558. Similar experiences were had by Chaffanjon among the Kunuaná (Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 267/68), Koch-Grünberg among the Taulipang and Makuxí /Macusi/ (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 360), and Baldus among the Tapirapé (Baldus, 1956b, p. 606).

lieve myself, I was asked where I was going, and often I was joined by companions.

191 When the Surára and Pakidái see something new for the first time or if they like an object particularly well, they
• 521 manifest their approval by loud clickings. They love conversa-
[576] tion above all else, and even at night they go on talking for hours. They never interrupt each other, however.

593 Though the man is the head of the family, the wife is
592 regarded as his partner with equal rights, without whose advice he does not undertake anything important. If he has two or
595 more wives, the youngest usually leads a princess's existence,
593 for which even the older ones must contribute. Mistreatment of women occurs only on account of adultery and for reasons of jealousy. But if a man beats his wife or draws blood on her body with the little cutia-tooth knife, several companions of her own sex immediately hasten to her aid. They try to pin down the arms of the angry man, and one woman will attempt to seize his scrotum and squeeze it with all her might, so that

these situations[1] by establishing new gardens as new wars develop; occasionally, however, the wars take on unpredictable intensity before new gardens can be established, and the members of the villages concerned necessarily seek refuge with their allies.

To the Yanomamö, gardens (hikari) are the fount of subsistence. They acknowledge the relationship between chronic warfare and village relocation by being constantly on the lookout for new lands to settle. Men are always discussing the agricultural merits of the forested areas in which they hunt, and most new sites are selected on the basis of information collected by hunters. Thus, when the Namowei-tedi split up at Patanowä-tëka, the Bisaasi-tedi faction moved to Shihota, an area they knew well because they customarily hunted there.[2] In 1965 the Monou-tedi cleared a new garden at Moyanaböwei for the same reason. I accompanied hunting parties from Bisaasi-tedi on several occasions to new areas not normally frequented by these hunters, and the topic of agriculture invariably came up during the evening résumé of the day's experiences.

Other factors besides density of jungle, type of floral association, and general topography are considered by

[1] They avoid these situations because the hosts usually demand either sexual access to the women of the refugees, or wives for their bachelors. The refugees, of course, are reluctant to do either, but are frequently obliged to do both. The cost of the alliance, once again, is measured in terms of women lost.

[2] See Map C, and Chapter 5.

609 groups of Yąnomamö have begun referring to the entire tribe
601 as "Los Shori." The Yąnomamö address the missionaries with
799 this term hoping to maximize their chances of obtaining
[609] desirable manufactured goods such as machetes and axes.
[601]

609 Men who are not related by blood constantly remind
• 521 each other of obligations when they use this kinship term.
601 A brother-in-law deserves respect, fair treatment, and gratitude. As the term is reciprocal, a conversation between two shoriwë is punctuated frequently by these constant reminders that each owes the other goods, services and respect by virtue of the fact that they stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other. Such conversations, usually about material goods or women, strike the outsider as something of verbal contests to determine which of the two speakers is more of a shoriwë than the other, i.e., who owes the other more goods, services, gratitude and generosity. One who has actually given a sister to the other's group has an advantage, in a trading sense, as he can more legitimately claim goods from the wife receiver.

*628 When men visit the village of an ally to beg, trade or
574 participate in feasts, they call all non-related men of that
609 village 'brother-in-law,' emphasizing the fact that they
601 stand in wife-giver relationship to them, and deserve, therefore, the generosity of the hosts.
583

*628 Alliances between villages involve, in addition to
527 military aid, mutual feasting and trading. It must be
574 remembered that alliances, no matter how many marriage ex-
583
571

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1965) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

removed and laid along the ground in the direction of the burrow to measure the distance from the entrance. The men began digging at the end of the vine and located the asphyxiated armadillo on the first attempt.

The jungle provides many other kinds of foods and products too numerous to mention. Some, like vines and lianas, are very useful and commonly employed in basket-making; others, such as edible mushrooms, crabs, pigments, and decorative plant products, are less significant, and exploited only sporadically. Despite the amazing variety of food products to be found in the jungle, however, the Yąnomamö could not exist for any substantial period of time on collected foods only: they rely heavily on their cultivated crops. The tropical forest is much less productive and reliable than one would imagine. The most abundant foods, palm fruits, are seasonal—a group of people could only rely on them for a few months of the year, during which time some 80 group members would have to forage over a wide area to obtain sufficient palm fruits to keep everybody well fed.

Game animals are not abundant, and an area is rapidly hunted out, so that a group must keep constantly on the move. Furthermore, hunting depends as much on luck as it does on skill and is not a very reliable way to supply nourishment. I have gone on five-day hunting trips with the Yąnomamö in areas that had not been hunted for decades, and had we not brought cultivated foods along, we would have been extremely hungry at the end of this time—we did not collect even enough meat to feed ourselves. On other trips, we often managed to collect enough game in one day to feed the entire village.

GARDENING Although the Yąnomamö spend almost as much time hunting as they do gardening, the bulk of their diet comes from foods that are cultivated. Perhaps 85 percent or more of the diet consists of domesticated rather than wild foods—plantains are by far the most important food in the diet.

The Yąnomamö are constantly looking for potential garden sites. When I hunted with them, the topic of conversation that evening would eventually drift over to the merits of the area as a possible site for a new garden. Most new garden sites are, in fact, discovered by hunters.

The land for a new site should not be heavily covered with brush, which is difficult to remove. The larger trees should not be too numerous either, as it takes a good deal of work to chop them down. Ideally, the new site should have very light jungle cover, should be well drained, near a source of drinking water, and relatively free of thorny underbrush. The Yąnomamö call a garden *hikuri täka;* jungle that has the potential of being a good garden is likewise called *hikuri täka.*

The first operation in making a new garden is to cut the smaller trees and brush; the bigger trees, *kayaha hi,* are left standing until the underbrush is removed. Then the big trees are felled with axes and left lying on the ground to dry out in the sun.

My older informants claimed that they did not have steel tools when they were younger and had to kill the big trees by cutting a ring of bark off around the base of the stump, using a crude stone axe, piling brush around them, and burning them. The trees rarely fell, but the fire usually killed them, and their leaves dropped off, permitting the sunlight to reach the ground.

They also claimed that making a garden was more arduous in those days because a large area would have to be searched for the necessary quantities of kindling used to kill the big trees. Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the

men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Shararaiwã, Kaobawã's youngest brother, helped build Kaobawã's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kaobawã's younger wife. Kaobawã's older wife, *Bahimi*, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kaobawã's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.[21]

Daily activities begin early in a Yanomamö village. One can hear people chatting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *hushimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

[21] A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kaobawã's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.